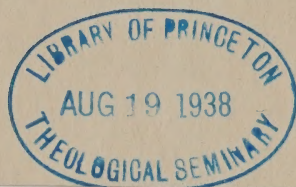


THROUGH GENTILE EYES

A Plea for Tolerance and Good Will



JOHN HAYNES HOLMES



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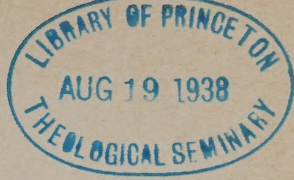
Through Gentile eyes

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AND GOOD WILL





Through Gentile Eyes

A PLEA FOR TOLERANCE AND GOOD WILL

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

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INTRODUCTION

AS CHAIRMAN of the Committee on "How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America" formed by OPINION, a Journal of Jewish Life and Letters, I have noted the necessity of furthering the cause of tolerance and good-will among the widest possible audience. It is with this in mind that the Committee has determined to publish a volume of essays "Through Gentile Eyes" by Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

For more than a generation there has been no more valiant champion on behalf of racial understanding and religious fellowship than Dr. Holmes. His services in this cause are pre-eminent and it is fitting that this volume should appear at a time when it is necessary to stem the tide of prejudice, and to advance the American tradition of brotherhood among all creeds and races in our country.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

A FOREWORD

STRICTLY speaking, there is no such thing as "Gentile eyes". There are only human eyes which are charged with the task of looking with understanding and sympathy into other human eyes. To recognize that there are Gentile eyes, or Jewish eyes, or any other kind of eyes, is to recognize that there are divisions between men and therewith to dignify and perpetuate these divisions. I would myself have nothing to do with them. I would wipe them out altogether, so that there might be neither "Jew nor Gentile," as there should be neither "bond nor free." If I look "through Gentile eyes," it is not because I would even momentarily live or think as a Gentile in my relations with my Jewish brethren, but only because there are viewpoints, forced upon us by the accidents of history, which may perhaps be utilized to mutual advantage.

Speaking from such a viewpoint and to such an end, I am first of all tempted to wonder if the Jews realize the enormous advantage of their position in relation to the Gentiles as compared with the position of the Gentiles in relation to the Jews. What I have in mind is the fact that they have been for centuries a race persecuted by the Gentiles, and thus must always be seen by the Gentiles as those who have been and still are the victims of their cruelty, lust and hate. ^

Always must the Jew stand as a perpetual reminder

to the Gentile of the latter's frailties and sins, of his failure through generations to fulfill the precepts of his religion of brotherhood and peace, of his betrayal of that gospel of love which was brought to the world by the Nazarene who was himself a Jew. Is not the Gentile's now traditional abhorrence of the Jew to be explained to a large extent as in essence his abhorrence of himself in his treatment of the Jew? For is it not a familiar fault of human nature to wreak vengeance most terribly not upon the one who has misused us but upon the one whom we have ourselves misused in a desperate endeavor to transfer to another the burden of our offending? However this may be, the Jew is a living embodiment of all that is most grievous in Christian history. For a Gentile to come into the presence of a Jew is to feel himself embarrassed, stricken with shame, convicted of sin. In the face of the heritage of horror which the centuries bestow upon the Gentile from out the years of oppressive relations with the Jew, I marvel that any Gentile can ever find anything in any Jew to blame. What is the worst in the Jew as compared with what is the worst in the Gentile? As in Robert Browning's famous poem, "Instans Tyrannus," it is the master and not the slave, the hater and not the hated, the persecutor and not the persecuted, who before God must be "afraid"! ^

But there is another point of view from which the position of the Jew must be seen to have immense advantage over that of the Gentile in their relations with one

another. I refer to the fact that the Jew, by virtue of the sufferings, subjections and suppressions which have ever been his lot, his opportunity to develop those rare virtues of patience, tolerance, forgiveness, and the far vision of man's ultimate deliverance from all woe, which mark the flowering of the perfect soul. I am persuaded that the Jews would never have produced their prophets, never have found the basic laws of righteousness, never have discovered God and his promised kingdom on the earth, had they been permanently a people of martial power and political dominion. The Egyptians to the west and the Babylonians to the east were also Semites and may well have shared those spiritual qualities which made the Jew the unique exponent of religion. But these peoples, triumphant over their foes, wielding successfully the weapons of force and violence, destroyed not only their enemies but their own higher and nobler selves. It was just because the Jews were politically weak, a conquered rather than a conquering people, that they discovered those inner qualities of being which might serve as compensation, so to speak, for their outward losses and defeats. It was no accident that it was only when the glory of the kingdoms of David and Solomon began to grow dim and their power to wane, that kings were succeeded by prophets, the men of the sword by the men of the spirit, as the chief leaders of Israel.

It is true, of course, that the miseries of Israel through the centuries before as well as after the Christian era

have not always led to the development of these nobler qualities of soul. On the contrary, the iniquities of Jewish life, the sheer struggle of the Jew to survive at any cost the horrors of the ghetto, have served to cultivate certain qualities which are as unlovely as they may be effective. If the Jew is aggressive, cunning, unscrupulous, materialistic, worldly, it is largely because his Gentile persecutors have made him so. These familiar features of Jewish life are the obverse reflections, so to speak, of Israel's experience at the hands of a hostile world. But they are evidence also in the higher sense, of the failure of the Jew as well as the fault of the Gentile. Had the Jew always been at his best, he would have transmuted the raw material of his distress into the pure gold of compassion and forgiveness. His very oppression would have been his opportunity, his defeat in body his triumph in spirit. It is this eternal possibility of using suffering as a medium of salvation that proves the divine quality of man's life and the basically moral character of the universe.

As a Gentile I would free the Jew of all oppression for his own sake—that he might be forever delivered from the pains and penalties, the sufferings and subjections, which have been for centuries his awful fate. As a Gentile I would free the Jew for my sake—that my people might be delivered from the shame and hate of their misdeeds against their brethren. Horrible beyond words have been the physical agonies of the Jew; horrible be-

yond words have been the spiritual atrocities of the Gentiles. In God's good gaze, is not the choice certain between these two unhappy lots? From every higher and therefore truer point of view the Jews have final advantage over the Gentiles. If, therefore, I were a Jew, I would seek as little to escape my destiny as to hide my race. I would strive to look not down with shame but up with pride upon my fate and by my mastery of my own spirit thus prove my primacy over all who would degrade or drag me down.

The Genius of the Jew

✓ **T**O THE genuine anti-Semite, bitterly hostile to the Jews, the present situation must indeed be maddening. The primacy of these Jews in worthy fields of human achievement, their almost uncanny ability to climb to the highest position of attainment and honor, their possession of degrees of leadership out of all proportion to their actual numbers among mankind, rank among the most impressive facts of contemporary life. What wonder that ignorant, credulous, and prejudiced people talk about conspiracy and magic, and appeal to force to overcome and destroy what cannot otherwise be mastered! Look at a few conspicuous instances of what Jews are doing in our age:

^ **T**he greatest scientist in the world today, and one of the eight or ten greatest scientists of all time, is Albert Einstein, a Jew. When one has named Democritus, Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Darwin, and Pasteur, one has come near to naming all the men in history who are worthy to rank with this exile of Hitler's Germany. Among living men in the scientific field, there is not one who is not glad to sit at the feet of this Jewish master of them all. Einstein cannot be refuted in argument, disproved by facts and figures, discredited by intellectual indictment. He can only be brow-beaten, insulted, and silenced by authority of savage government. So he seeks

refuge—and finds honor—in lands more hospitable than his own.

The greatest philosopher in the world today, as distinguished a philosopher in the twentieth century as Baruch Spinoza in the sixteenth, is Henri Bergson, a Jew. This French thinker precipitated one of the sensations of philosophical history, and produced one of the immortal books of modern times, in the publication shortly before the War of his "Creative Evolution." This work immediately placed its author in the great succession of original thinkers which has run unbroken since the days of the ancient Greeks. The stupendous struggle of arms between France and Germany interrupted the mounting progress of Bergson's thought. His voice was lost in the clash of conflict, as his presence was swallowed up in the darkness of despair. For years after the peace, he remained silent, and became as it were a figure of history. But this past year has seen the publication of a final masterpiece (not yet translated into English) which ranks this Jew as the supreme philosophic leader of the period after, as of the period before, the World War.

The greatest artist in the world today, a genius of almost paralyzing power and originality, is Jacob Epstein, a Jew. The works of this sculptor, the true successor of Rodin, invariably stir controversy. Sometimes this is because of a fundamental failure of adjustment between Epstein's mind and its appointed subject, as in

the case of the memorial to W. H. Hudson, in Hyde Park, London, from which no less a man than John Galsworthy said that he recoiled. "The task was impossible, indeed, for any artist, however original." More often this controversy sprang from an understanding by the artist so sure, an insight so profound, a revelation so brilliant, as to shock the observer into new and unwelcome sensations of reality. Perhaps none other than a Jew could achieve what Epstein has achieved with his moulded stone. He does with his chisel what Isaiah and Jeremiah did with words. Certainly no one can hope to comprehend the significance of this sculptor's images who does not feel in them that spirit of moral judgment and prophecy which is the Jew's peculiar contribution to humanity. Only in the pages of the Old Testament can one match the mingled austerity and rapture which dwell in Epstein's works. In this man we see against the spectacle of Israel startling and stunning mankind into terror of the awfulness of God.

✓ The greatest jurist in the world today—who is he but Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of our United States Supreme Court? It is amusing to recall at this late date the objections made to President Wilson's nomination of this Jew to the supreme bench—the charge offered by such men as William Howard Taft, Elihu Root, Joseph H. Choate, Simon E. Baldwin, A. Lawrence Lowell, that he "lacked the judicial temperament." What was really meant was that Mr. Brandeis had a passion for hu-

manity, an understanding of the relation of law to life, a sense of justice as inherent not in hairsplittings of word and phrase but in actual agonies of flesh and blood, which were all too strange to the judicial process as practised in this country. More truly even than his great colleague, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had limitations not known to Brandeis, this Jewish judge has vitalized the law in the service of man's social needs and expectations. More truly than any other living man he has transformed this law from a barrier never to be crossed into an instrument always to be used. Is it any accident that the august tradition of the English common law as illuminated and interpreted by the ethical genius of a Jewish mind, goes far toward marking the direction for the safe and sure progress of our western world in years to come?

The greatest novelists of the present era are many of them Jews. Name Wells, Rolland, Nexo, Hamsun, Undset, Upton Sinclair, and straightway one must follow with Wassermann, Feuchtwanger, Arnold Zweig, and perhaps Ludwig Lewisohn. To these may well be added the great biographers, Emil Ludwig, Henri Barbusse, and Stefan Zweig. The appearance of the Jew in the field of imaginative and interpretative literature has come late in our time. Israel Zangwill was almost a unique phenomenon a generation ago. But the genius was there in the Hebrew soul, as witness the immortal classics, "Ruth", "Esther", "Daniel", "Tobit", "Job",

“Song of Songs”, the “Maccabees”, and a myriad hidden treasures in the Talmud. Long buried beneath the oppression of the centuries, the fire now leaps forth like flames from the central core of earth.

✓ What is true in these fields of human endeavor is true also in other kindred fields—in music, journalism, the drama, finance, commerce, statesmanship, philanthropy. The Jew, released at last from the base imprisonment of Christian history, is suddenly challenging primacy in all achievement which springs from a union of intellect and spirit. The secret of Israel’s strange genius has never been revealed. It is in all probability as undiscoverable as the unique genius of the ancient Hindus and of the classic Greeks. One becomes mystical rather than scientific in probing the origin and nature of this native deposit of the soul. That this genius has been intensified by the long and cruel repression visited upon it, is obvious. And now its emergence, under the freer conditions of our time, is as startling an experience as that of Keats’ “watcher of the skies” who saw

a new planet swim into his ken.

✓ To the humane observer this emergence constitutes an incalculable enrichment of the race, which renews his confidence in man and his faith in God. Only to the ignorant and prejudiced, and especially to those smitten by some consciousness of inferiority, is it an occasion of humiliation and fear. But this means jealousy, which joins with hate to add a new terror to anti-Semitism.

A Gallery of Jews

I HAVE just been looking at a remarkable book—"Portraits of Jews by Gilbert Stuart and Other Early American Artists," by Hannah R. London, with an appreciation by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, published in New York by William Edwin Rudge. A beautifully printed text of seventy-nine large pages is followed by fifty-eight full-page plates. The whole is indexed, contains preface and bibliography, and is handsomely bound. The edition is limited to one thousand copies, of which the one in my hands is No. 739.

✓ The first thing that impresses, and indeed surprises, a Gentile reader of this volume is the testimony it bears of the prominence of Jews in colonial America, and of their conspicuous place in the social and cultural life of the times. There could not have been many Jewish families in those days before and immediately after the Revolution, and these few were thinly scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, not only in Newport and New York, but also in Norfolk, Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans. But wherever they were, they were eminent in commerce and learning, and obviously cultivated the arts. They commissioned the best portrait painters of their age. Thus, in the pictures reproduced in this book may be seen some of the finest work of John Wollaston, Samuel King, William Henry Brown, Charles Peale Polk, James Sharpless, Benjamin Trott, and others

equally well known. Among the portraits listed in the text, some reproduced in the plates, are no less than twelve canvasses by Gilbert Stuart and twenty-six by Thomas Sully. Miniatures, silhouettes and drawings are also included.

It is obvious that this collection, as Mr. Rosenbach points out in his introduction, constitutes not only "a considerable addition" to our knowledge of early American art, but also "a most valuable contribution to the history of the Jews in the United States." Here is a gallery of Jewish leaders who founded synagogues and charitable societies, fostered trade, fought in the wars, explored the pioneer West, and took their full share in the public service of their communities. Jacob Franks contributed to build the steeple of Trinity Church, New York; his daughter, Phila, married General Oliver De Lancey, whose home, now known as Fraunces Tavern, still stands at Broad and Pearl Streets; a granddaughter, Rebecca Franks, "was a reigning belle during the British occupation of Philadelphia — no one seems to have disputed her title to be considered the wit of her day among womankind." Moses Seixas was founder of the Bank of Rhode Island; his brother, Gershom, a rabbi, served as trustee of Columbia College from 1787 to 1815, and, an ardent patriot, participated with thirteen other clergymen in the inauguration of President Washington in 1789. Rabbi Karigal, of Newport, was the close friend of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale Col-

lege, who frequently attended his synagogue to hear him preach. Israel Jacobs was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1771, and of the United States Congress in 1791-1793. Uriah P. Levy, at the time of his death in 1862 the highest ranking officer in the United States Navy, presented to the United States Government the famous bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson in the Capitol at Washington, and achieved the establishment of Jefferson's home, Monticello, as a national shrine. Israel Israel, of Philadelphia, was Grand Master of the Masonic Order in Pennsylvania in 1802 and 1804. These are but a few items culled from these precious pages, eloquent of personal eminence, high public spirit, and noble attainment in this country's life.

But the plates soon win attention from the text, and hold it fast. These portraits, here so faithfully reproduced, present a remarkable aggregation of men and women. They were "a picked racial group," we are told; "usually, perhaps always, of the Spanish and Portuguese strains." Even so, the uniform standard of physical, intellectual and spiritual quality is extraordinary. The women share the rich, dark, exotic beauty so long characteristic of the females of the tribes of Israel. Fanny Levy (p. 183) shows an ineffable radiance and grace; Mrs. Solomon Moses (p. 169) blooms in the full flower of early and fragrant womanhood; Mrs. Barnard Gratz (p. 123) is more mature, more statuesque; Rebecca Gratz (p. 177) is a gorgeous creature; Mrs. Joseph

Andrews (p. 137) and Mrs. Samson Levy, Sr. (p. 127) are true "mothers in Israel." But there is more than beauty here; there is high character and keen intelligence as well. What wives and mothers these women must have been, and what brilliant social companions! Their homes, we know, had dignity, and their salons wit and wisdom and kind feeling. Women of this type are the strength of any people.

The men, who in this collection of portraits outnumber the women three to one, are prevailingly of the burgher type. The scholar, the artist, the rabbi, even the soldier are here, but the majority are merchants, bankers, and public leaders. It is curious to note a complete absence of the classic synagogue or ghetto type of Jew, just as it is equally curious to note on many of the figures in these plates the powdered wigs and colonial coats which almost completely hid the lineaments of Israel. A striking portrait is that of Commodore Uriah P. Levy (p. 107), the great Jefferson enthusiast, clad in his naval uniform, with epaulettes, sword, gloves, and official scroll. This is matched by the Major Mordecai Myers portrait (p. 131), and by the magnificent Thomas Sully sketch of Major Alfred Mordecai (p. 185). But the majority of these men were sturdy private citizens, householders, merchants, civic dignitaries and public leaders. Some are young, most of them middle-age or older, all of them strong men of a native integrity and genius. We know these men were faithful to their wives,

honest in their business dealings, rigorous in their observance of domestic and religious rites. For all their strength, there is no hardness in them; for all their dignity, no aloofness or snobbishness. In all their relations they must have been warm, sympathetic, wholesome, and innately true.

A few of the portraits outshine all the others—the Gilbert Stuart frontispiece, for example, a picture of Abraham Touro. This must be extraordinary as a work of art—but what a subject the painter had! Such intelligence, benevolence, and inner serenity of spirit! This man had won his place, and secured in reward his peace. Samson Levy, Jr. (p. 189) haunts the mind with the searching power of his eyes and the commanding poise of his splendid head. This impression is confirmed by the other Samson Levy picture on page 139. Only one of all these men seems weak, one other dubious in character. I leave such of our readers as may see this volume to identify my suspicions. But as a group, they are matchless men. What stock for the breeding of a nation!

One wonders, as one turns the pages of this book, why material of this kind is not more often used in the presentation of the word and work of Israel. As I think of the Jewish literature I have read, I seem to recall a color and atmosphere remote from familiar American experience. As I think of the pictures of Jews which I have seen in the studies of rabbis and in the homes of my Jewish friends, I seem to see the bent heads and bearded

faces of ancient scholars poring over texts of Talmudic lore. These heads and faces have an almost overwhelming dignity of suffering and exaltation, as Jewish literature has an irresistible appeal of strange yet noble tragedy. But this is not all of Israel, nor even that part which may most quickly reach the Gentile heart. The Jew has survived through the ages by virtue of the mystic power of that inner tradition of fidelity which is written in every line of face and feature. But he has also, while preserving his inner integrity, taken his place in this present-day world among his fellows. He has escaped from the ghetto, and become one with contemporary mankind. He is now a modern as well as an ancient people—always a Jew, but also an American!

These pictures, so zealously hunted out by Hannah M. London, are nearly all of them hidden away in private homes. Only one, so far as I can make out, is in a public place—that of Commodore Levy, appropriately hung in Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello. This limited edition has revealed them, for the first time, perhaps, to a few students of art and a few other students of Israel's history. But this is not enough! Why should not some of them at least be rescued, and made the permanent possession of the American people? One such portrait as Gilbert Stuart's Abraham Touro, if made as familiar as Benjamin Franklin and John Adams and Andrew Jackson, would end anti-Semitism in America forever.

A World Jewish Congress

I HAVE no doubt that it is altogether "good and pleasant" for a Gentile to keep out of the current controversy in American Jewry over the proposed World Jewish Congress. To interfere, even to advise or comment, may bring upon the intruder, however well-intentioned, all the violent opprobrium that falls upon the man who enters into a family quarrel. A judge, who undertook to chastise a wife-beater the other day, was straightway set upon by the irate wife who had suffered so sorely at her husband's hands. Perhaps this may be my fate if I use the privileges of this column even to suggest how the discussion of the World Jewish Congress looks "through Gentile eyes." But the itch is upon me to say a word—or at least to submit a bit of testimony which may have some bearing upon the present case!

What strikes the Gentile of liberal Christian training and experience is a high sense of amazement that any Jew should object to a World Jewish Congress, especially under such conditions of anti-Semitic agitation as prevail nearly everywhere today. Fantastic, to this Gentile at least, seems the idea, strenuously and of course sincerely put forth by spokesmen of the American Jewish Committee, that a World Jewish Congress at this time would aggravate hostility against the Jews as aliens and outlanders, and thus make more difficult than ever the circumstance of their abode in various coun-

tries. It is even suggested that a Congress, held at Geneva or some other international center, would give new substance to the old myth of the Elders of Zion, and thus put all Jews under the monstrous charge of a conspiracy for the seizure and control of the western world in their own selfish political and financial interest. What makes this speculation seem so strange to a Gentile like myself is the sober fact that just such an international congress as is now being proposed by Dr. Wise and his associates was held at regular intervals during a long period of years before the Great War by groups of liberal Christians of many lands, and always with great advantage and happiness.

The body to which I refer was known as the International Conference of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christians. It was organized and sustained by isolated Christian groups who were intensely conscious of the fact that they were feeble minorities existing under great difficulties in countries dominated by Roman Catholic or orthodox Protestant ecclesiastical powers, and thus in desperate need of the mutual comfort and strength which spring from fellowship. Some of these groups, such as the Unitarians in England and America, enjoyed conditions of perfect freedom, were composed of men and women of influence and authority in their respective communities, and thus were protected not only from persecution but even from casual disability. But there were other groups in Spain, in Italy, in Austria, in Rus-

sia, which were humble and obscure, smitten with heresy, and burdened with troubles which at the best were inconveniences and at the worst were perplexities and perils of out-and-out persecution. In many quarters of pre-War Europe there lingered the supersititions and prejudices of medieval times, and it was not easy to be any kind of a Christian outside the order of established orthodoxy. The liberals in the free countries felt they owed support and sympathy to their brethren in less favored portions of the world. All liberals everywhere recognized the advantages of affiliation, and craved the inspiration of a common voice lifted in protest against oppressions wherever found, and in acclaim of liberty and brotherhood as the shining goals of man's long progress into light. So the International Conference was established, and flourished until submerged in the vast flood of the War. And I have never heard of any evil that it ever wrought for any feeble minority of liberals anywhere, and know of much good that it did for lonely, stricken, and outraged souls. I doubt if, in all these years, any event of world-shaking significance was consummated by the Conference. But its organization marked something like a new era in the history of Christian liberalism, and gave self-respect, dignity, and power to liberal minorities which had never before dared to lift up their heads and voices outside the walls of their own insignificant and hidden churches.

It is inevitably of this International Conference that I

think, in happy and confident remembrance, as I ponder the project of the World Jewish Congress. Here are two minority groups, in both cases distinctively religious groups, Christian and Jewish, widely scattered over the world, and suffering in many places disability and outrage. It is true that the liberal Christian sects, especially in modern times, have never endured the awful ban of outlawry and death which has again and again been pronounced upon Israel, though these sects have known what it is to meet the sword, endure the wrack, and tread the road of exile. There are few of them that know not soil made sacred by the blood of martyrs! But whatever the difference in degree, there is identity in kind. These groups, Christian and Jewish, are minority groups, which bear the scorn and frequently the scars inflicted upon them by hateful enemies. The Christian groups have found fellowship one with another, not only inside the borders of a single land, but across the frontiers of nations in the world at large. These hunted and hounded heretics of the Christian faith have dared to assert a world character and seek a world influence. Why should the Jews not do the same, and thus, like their fellow Christians in like manner, vindicate their place in the one great body of humanity?

To this question I find no answer except the reiterated assertion that Jews are *Jews*, and therefore cannot, or should not, do what other men have done. To me, a mere Gentile, this assertion implies a positively devas-

tating admission that the plea of the anti-Semite that the Jew is *different* has something to it. I have no doubt that the position of the Jew in any country, at this dread hour, is different in the sense that it is more difficult and painful than any Gentile can perhaps imagine. I agree that this position calls for prudence and patience, caution and circumspection. But I deny that it demands that the Jew shall slink away, hide himself from sight, keep silent, and thereby prove himself not only different from but something less than other men by declining to exercise the primitive right and duty of any man to vindicate his manhood and hold a place of honor among his fellows.

Is there no self-respect in the Jew that he shall take the insults and horrors of this hour lying down? Is there no dignity in the Jew that he shall not stand erect to the full stature of his being, though this invite new blows and bludgeonings? Is there no compassion in the Jew in this country, no common cry of blood, that he shall not reach forth his hand and heart to his stricken brethren in other less happy lands, and stand shoulder to shoulder with him upon the world's great stage in one single company of fate? I find it significant that opposition to the World Jewish Congress comes from countries where the Jew is still comparatively safe—America, England, Belgium, France. Where the Jew is battling for his very life, as in Germany, Poland, and the Balkans, the call for conference is insistent. Why should this call not be

answered, even by those who need not cry for help—*yet?* What would men do, if the present crisis of Israel were upon them, is manifest. They would long since have been in world conference together, to make common cause with one another against disaster. If the Jews do less, then are they less than other men—which I cannot and will not believe until I am so taught by Jews themselves.

I am reminded again that I am a Gentile. But even so, I am truly as any Jew a member of a minority group. I claim to share therefore the psychology, and something at least of the experience, of minorities. It is from this standpoint that, very humbly, in answer to the plea of Jews that they cannot afford to hold a World Congress because they are Jews, I beg to say—"The Jews cannot afford *not* to have a World Congress, *because they are Jews!*"

Let the Jew Plead Guilty

THIS Gentile is writing this month as a pacifist. He thinks that all men, and very particularly Jews, should be pacifists, and therefore begins himself. The occasion of his pacifist utterance is the recent attack upon the patriotism, courage and military valor of the Jews by a fittingly anonymous writer in the *Army and Navy Register* who replies to an attack on the R. O. T. C. by one Felix Cohen.

This article has caused great excitement in the Jewish press, and has been abundantly and effectively answered. It is easy to answer, so ignorant is the writer, so full of prejudice, so scornful of truth. Take the opening identification of the Jews, for example, with the Russian Bolsheviki. This militarist is still clinging to the old myth that the Soviet revolutionists are mostly Jews, just as I imagine he is cherishing the obscene illusion that most of the Russian women have been nationalized. I would even gamble, if I were a betting man, that he is still trembling before the nightmare of the Elders of Zion. As a matter of fact, of course, as all informed persons know, very few of the Soviet leaders are Jews. Many Jews are clerks in the government offices, without prejudice of any kind, since they are more intelligent and more highly educated than the great masses of the Russian people. But with the exception of one or two

conspicuous leaders like the great Trotsky, the revolutionists in the Kremlin were Slavs.

Note also the nonchalant and yet positive way in which this anonymous slanderer passes from Felix Cohen as an individual to the Jews as a race. There is not the slightest evidence that this man, Felix Cohen, has been authorized to speak for anybody but himself. The Hebrew press as a whole, has been quick enough to disavow him. And yet this *Army and Navy Register* editor accepts his words as the words of an entire people and treats them as such. We know of no Jew, either rabbi or layman, in this country today who is so unanimously followed by his people that his opinion on any subject would be endorsed as the voice of Israel. Yet the unknown Felix Cohen is here lifted at one stroke into this proud position of the racial oracle. How "set up" he must feel as he thus finds himself clothed with the robes of authority.

How easily also does this anti-Semitic militarist assume that the Jewish pacifist must have "forgotten the persecution of his family in the country from which it came." Evidently he has not imagination or sympathy enough to realize that it may be that Mr. Cohen is remembering all too well this awful persecution. The sword of the militarist has always been the sword of the persecutor. This weapon is two-edged—it has slashed no more furiously at those feared as enemies abroad than at those despised as aliens at home. Perhaps Mr. Cohen

suspects that persecution will never end until militarism is disarmed and war disavowed. If so, he is a man infinitely wiser than his critic.

It is because this R. O. T. C. champion has thus showed himself in his ignorance and prejudice to be so vulnerable to counter-attack that the Hebrew press has taken delight in falling upon him without mercy. Yet we marvel that our Jewish brethren have become so excited, and especially that they have resented so bitterly the main burden of what this anonymous army spokesman has to say about young Cohen. For what is the chief charge levelled against this son of Israel? It is that he is "an internationalist," and thus representative of Jews who "are by instinct internationalists;" that he is opposed to "the spirit of high patriotism, love and loyalty which send men out to die for their country with songs in their hearts;" that he has, like the Jews as a race, "little stomach for military service" and for the business of dying for one's country. But is this a slander, an insult? Yes, insofar as this man charges that "Jews are conspicuous by their absence" from our American wars. This is a simple and obvious lie as statistics prove. In the World War, in any case, Jews had to be as conspicuous as their fellow citizens of other religions and races since they were conscripted on an equal basis of military selection.

But the Jewish press points to the main burden of the

charge, that the Jews are internationalists and do not want to fight in war, and undertake desperately to refute it. We have seen one paper which has hauled out the public records of gallant Jewish soldiers, published pictures of Jewish heroes adorned with medals, told stories of sacrifice and bloodshed in the battle lines, etc. All of which is excellent from the standpoint of the accepted standards of our day! But is this what the Jews are standing for? Is this what the Jews have stood for in the past? Is this what they would be remembered by yesterday, and would achieve tomorrow? Is it the fighting of the Maccabees which is their chief glory, or the prophecies of the Isaiahs and the Jeremiahs and the Hoseas?

It is the happy fortune of the Jew, if he has any happy fortune, that he has become an internationalist before the rest of the world, and thus is in a position to lead on the way to a united world of brotherhood and peace. It is the glory of the Jew that, long before any other people upon this earth, he caught the vision of swords beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, and thus in fidelity to the divine spirit within his flesh put by arms and fighting and war forever. It is the miracle of the Jew that he has met the assault of the fire and sword of his persecutors not by striking back, not by murdering in the name of God or country, but by suffering and dying and thus in the spirit surviving the worst that the material power of his enemies could bring against him.

Let him not be ashamed of his internationalism, his pacifism, his religion. He has resisted swords for centuries. Let him now resist swords and thus vindicate afresh the integrity of his inner spirit which is the true ark of his sacred covenant.

Live and Let Live

CURIOUS and tragic are the charges that are brought against the Jews. In other cases consistency, logic, common-sense are necessary to conviction, but not in the case of Israel. Thus in Germany you can learn that the Jews caused the World War for their own advantage, and then deliberately and wickedly lost it! The Jews are all Communists, Bolsheviki, "reds," and at the same time are international bankers who exploit the helpless workers and use their far-flung financial power to accumulate enormous fortunes! The Jews insist upon maintaining their own racial and religious exclusiveness, and thus constitute an alien group which lives altogether apart from the unified body of the Reich; at the same time, we are told, they invade and monopolize the German professions, insist upon intermarrying with German stock, and even upon intermingling their own native blood in illegitimate relationships! The Jews worship tribal gods and practise heathen religious rites, and yet have given to Germany, as to all the western world, that Christian faith by which the Occident has lived through nearly two thousand years! It all means something, I suppose — this concatenation of contradictory conspiracy—but my poor brain is unable to comprehend the mystery.

It all reminds me of an experience I had in Califor-

nia some years ago in the matter of prejudice against the Japanese. Sitting at a dinner-table on a certain evening, I was told of the way the immigrants from Nippon had crowded into the town and insisted upon sending their little children to the public schools. "What are you going to do with a people," I was asked, "who thrust themselves into our American life in this outrageous fashion?" A few days later I was a member of another dinner-party, and was talking with a highly cultured woman from another part-of the state. "These Japanese," she said, "are impossible. They are so exclusive, so clannish. We have tried and tried in my town to Americanize them—to get their children into the public schools. But the parents won't send them." Each story may have been true, or untrue. The point is that, in the case of an oppressed minority, it's damned if you do, and damned if you don't!

I have been thinking of these absurdities in connection with the Palestinian problem and in relation to certain aspects of the German problem. Take just one illustration of illogicality which would win the prize, it seems to me, at any intellectual bazaar!

AV We are told, as the crowning argument against Zionism, that the Jews do not belong in Palestine. It is true that they flourished there for hundreds of year, until driven out by the destruction of Jerusalem and the conquests of Rome. They stamped their language upon the landscape, the memory of their kings and prophets upon

the hills and valleys; to this day the holy places of Israel outnumber all the others. But in 70 A.D. there came an end to the occupancy of the Jews, who have been wandering all these centuries since over the face of the earth. Palestine belongs today, so we are told, to the Arabs. For a thousand years—yea, *for thirteen hundred years*—these native followers of Mohammed have populated the land. They have built their villages and reared their shrines. They have pastured their flocks, plowed the soil, and trod the highways. They have grown into the country by rearing successive generations who have produced wealth by their labor, cultivated knowledge by their studies and glorified a country which more and more through the years they have made their own. There are other people in Palestine, to be sure. As a holy land, both Jews and Christians can offer claims altogether superior to these of the Moslems. But are thirteen hundred years to count for nothing? Are these people to be driven from their habitations, their occupations, their temples, and left to wander wherever a not too cruel world will give them shelter? These Arabs have rights—the rights of occupancy, heritage, tradition. Woe be to the Jews who would drive them out and take over their possessions!

With this principle firmly impressed upon our minds, let us now turn to Germany. Here the Jews are being driven to foreign lands, or herded into ghettos, by conditions of indescribable oppression. These German Jews

do not belong in the Reich, we are told; they are interlopers who must be destroyed, or else driven back to where originally they came from. But let us think about this a minute! These Jews came into Germany only a few generations later than the Arabs came into Palestine. It was more than a thousand years ago that Israel first invaded the Fatherland. During all these succeeding centuries, these Jews have reared their homes, bred their children, done their work, practised their professions, and more and more become a part of the life and culture of their adopted country. The names of German Jews crowd the annals of German art, music and literature, glorify the record of German science and philosophy, have their honorable place among the workers who have toiled and the soldiers who have died for their native land. This gives the Jews no exclusive possession of Germany. When have they ever suggested or striven after such possession? But it would seem as though it does entitle them to their place in a realm which they have themselves done so much to build. If the Arabs are to stay in Palestine, and incidentally shut out all later comers, because they entered the land so long ago and have occupied it since, why should not the Jews be allowed to remain and flourish in Germany for the same reason? Surely, if an Arab *fellaheen* in Shechem is to be scrupulously protected in his occupancy of a region, which he plows with a wooden stick, because his ancestors have squatted on this soil for centuries before

him, how much more a Jewish physician or banker, or common day laborer or student, in Berlin, in Dresden, in Nuremberg, whose fathers have served not merely the synagogue but the state during a thousand years of intelligent and devoted citizenship?

A good rule works both ways. But both ways, in Palestine and in Germany alike, the Jews get the small end of the bargain. From the one country they are shut out because they have been absent for more than a thousand years, and another people have long enjoyed their heritage. From the other country they are driven out because they have been present for a thousand years, and another people would now enjoy their heritage. Out or in, the Jews are flogged with the same stick, barred and banned by the same edict. No matter what the conditions, for them or against them, they suffer just the same.

The one solution of such problems is withheld from the Jews, or denied them altogether. "Live and let live" is a sound principle which never fails in questions of human ill. The Jews would not drive the Arabs from Palestine, and thus rob them of their possessions. They would simply exercise their inalienable right to enter and reclaim the ancient land of their fathers, capable today of supporting a people five times the Arab population, and make the Arabs partners with themselves in the new commonwealth. The Jews in Germany have had no desire to control or monopolize a country in which they count less than one per cent of the total population.

They have striven only to do their best for a nation and a culture in which through a thousand years of patient life they have come to have their share. The idea that they should be driven from Germany is as gross a cruelty as the idea that they should drive the Arabs from Palestine is a mocking farce. In both countries are peoples who together share a heritage which together they should foster and enjoy. "God has made them brothers, let justice make them friends."

Palestine Is Zion

"The Zionists are miles ahead of every other community here in every way. After visiting the Jezreel colonies . . . I understand your enthusiasm in your book for the Jewish colonization."

THESE sentences from a letter, recently received from Jerusalem, were written by a young Christian. This man, called to Palestine to take up an important work there, had no special knowledge of the country, and certainly no special concern for Zionism. I doubt if he knew anything about the great Jewish adventure apart from such casual information as may be picked up by an intelligent and alert mind in the course of casual reading in newspapers, magazines, and books. His bias, if he had any, was quite as likely to be against the Zionist experiment as for it. Of course, when he found himself suddenly confronted with a journey to the Near East and with a work of high responsibility and importance in the Holy Land, he began at once to prepare himself for the task ahead. In a spirit not only of conscientiousness but of eager desire, he sought all sources of information, both personal and printed, which were available. But, even so, he must have come to Palestine, as I came three and a half years ago, with a mind fresh for the sowing of first impressions. All his study and inquiry had been

but a preparation for what he was at last to acquire as real knowledge on the spot.

Now, after an initial period of observation and investigation, this Christian writes me enthusiastically of the Zionists. They are "miles ahead," he says, "of every other community here in every way." What are these other communities with which he thus compares the community of Zion?

First, there is the old, non-Zionist Jewish community—those scattered remnants of the old Israel in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed. It was astonishing to me to discover, on my visit to Palestine, that this community existed at all. I had always supposed, as I think most persons suppose, that the Holy Land was swept clean of its native population by the great invasion and conquest of Titus in the year 70 A.D. The dispersion of the Jews at that tragic time had meant to me a *complete* dispersion. But it was nothing of the kind! Jews were left behind after all the burning and slaying—a miserable remnant, hiding in the mountains, clinging to the ancient shrines, worshipping still their fathers' God. And that remnant has survived the ages! The tides of war have flowed back and forth over this unhappy land, leaving behind an awful desert of destruction. Races and religions have succeeded one another like the passing pageant of a dream. Storm and drought, starvation and pestilence have swept the valleys and hills, the visitation of dread doom. But, with the unexampled tenacity characteristic

of the tribe, these Jews still endure—a withered, tough, sinewy, steadfast people, perpetuating into our day the traditions of David and his kindgom. They are picturesque and heroic, these ancient sons of Judah. As I stood one night in a synagogue in Safed, and watched a group of gnarled and grizzled old men discuss the Torah with an absorption so complete that my presence was no more noticed than that of a shadow on the mouldering wall, I saw as though in vision the tragic pilgrimage of this people—a march through the centuries more sublime and terrible than the march of the first Children of Israel through the Wilderness. In the language, the garments, the seamed faces, the tortured minds, I could touch, as it were, the priests and prophets of the Bible. But this community of scattered Jews has no significance for Palestine today or tomorrow. It is a survival, like the very deposits of the ancient *Tels* dug up these days by the archeologists' pick and spade.

Secondly, there is the Christian community, by which I mean specifically those religious orders which swarm in this historic land of the New Testament like locusts upon a wasted harvest field. One sees these orders wherever the memory of Jesus touches any inch of soil—in Bethlehem, in Nazareth, in the holy places of Jerusalem. Every spot must have its shrine, every town its temple. And as Christians have been notorious through all the centuries for inward discord and dissension, wherever these orders touch one another they yield to

envy, strife, and hatred. That most sacred of all places, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which should be the very sign and symbol of Christian unity, is *per contra* the raging center of confusion. There are other Christians in Palestine—the Templar settlements, the American colony, the Jerusalem Y.M.C.A., a few scattered schools and churches—welcome tokens that the religion of Jesus still survives. But these are but fringes, so to speak, upon the edge of a swamp of perverted and poisonous pietism. The Christian community of Palestine, as rooted deep in the soil of rival ecclesiasticisms, is a noisome and a noxious thing.

Thirdly, there is the Arab community. This is the Middle Ages come to life again—the Moslem Middle Ages to be sure, but still the Middle Ages. By this we mean a society of poor, ignorant, superstitious, toiling menials upon the land, and of proud, rich, idle land-owners and nobility in the cities. Here survives that ancient feudal system of peasant and lord, which, long since dead and buried in Europe, has no future anywhere in this contemporary world. There is a great awakening, to be sure, of Islam in our time. We see this in the revival of a religion now undergoing a quickening very similar to that of Christianity four hundred years ago. We see it in the stirring of materialistic forces and fervors which sweep the East today somewhat as it swept the West yesterday. But this awakening of Mohammedan civilization, parallel in so many ways to the

earlier awakening of Christian civilization, has hardly as yet stirred Arab Palestine, so far as the common people are concerned. The Arabs in the Holy Land are easily aroused by propaganda appeals to ignorance and superstition, but in essence they lie as inert today as a thousand years ago, save as they have been touched, like the dead bones of Ezekiel's vision, by the magic life of Zion! The future of the Arab community in the Holy Land rests now with their new Jewish brethren on the soil of Jezreel. This is the new world of Palestine. And it is because the overlords of Islam see this fact so clearly, that they fight so bitterly the new alliance of Arab and Jew.

V Lastly, there is the English community—important not to Palestine but to Britain and the Empire. Of the place of the English in Palestine, it is not for me to speak here. There is in this problem an entanglement of good and bad, of choice and necessity, of fate and freedom, which only the future, and hardly this, can unravel. But it may be respectfully submitted that, from the standpoint of community life, the English exist in Palestine as they exist in India, fundamentally as imperialists concerned with their dominant imperial interests. Whatever the exigencies of the moment, the future of Palestine, as of India, can only be forecast in terms of a restoration of the country from rulers to people. The English can exist in Palestine, in other words, only so long as an empire can resist the steady advance of political and

social democracy. From this standpoint, the English in Palestine cannot be regarded as a community any more than the soldiery and police of any occupied country can be regarded as a community. A community, by the very definition of the word itself, is something held in common. English rule in Jerusalem is something held and exercised apart. The English in Palestine are a community in the Empire—yes! But not a community in the new Palestine of Zion!

The new Palestine of Zion! How inevitably this phrase drops from the pen! For the new Palestine *is* Zion. Travel anywhere in the Holy Land today, and wherever you touch the future as distinguished from the past, vision as distinguished from custom and tradition, life as distinguished from decay and death, you find yourself in contact with these heroic Jews who, gathered from many places, born of many races, speaking many tongues, are yet welded together in the heat of the one great passion for the restoration of Israel. "The Zionists are miles ahead of every other community here in every way," says my correspondent. Of course they are! These Zionists have a work to do, a life to develop, a soul to quicken. And they have caught a vision which brings light at last into all the dark places of their ancestral inheritance. The old Jews, the Christians, the Arab *fellaheen*—these are of the past—dead, or worse than dead! The English—these are of the present, and perhaps of the future, but a present and a future which

are alien to all the interests of Palestine. But the Zion-ists—these are of the real future. They live as a child lives, as a prophet lives, as God lives. They are life itself coming into ever greater and fairer bloom. They are the spirit engaged once more upon its old but ever new task of fresh creation. If Palestine lives today in its own beauty and by its own right, it is because the Zionists have made it live. Palestine is theirs because they have possessed it. Not by the conquest of spear or sword, but by that nobler conquest of the heart which quickens into life the soil, the land, the cause which it devoutly loves!

The Rebirth of Zion

THEODOR HERZL must be ranked as one of the few supreme prophets and statesmen of the nineteenth century. His vision of Zionism, like Mazzini's vision of united Italy, constitutes one of the great spiritual conceptions of modern times. His program of Zionism rivalled Bismarck's program of German empire, and was as benevolent in policy as the Iron Chancellor's was malevolent. So different is the world of Israel today from what it was forty years ago, on the occasion of the gathering of the first Zionist Congress, that we are tempted to forget the situation which Herzl faced, and thus to ignore the change which his foresight and heroism wrought wellnigh singlehanded. But we have only to recall that situation, to revive in our minds what has so long since disappeared from our lives, in order to realize that the Jewish problem in 1937 is new as compared with that of 1897. And the cause is Zionism!

In one sense the lot of Israel was much the same four decades ago as it is today, and indeed has always been through the centuries of the Christian era. The Jews at that time were in the midst of a long-sustained period of persecution, only less terrible in range and intensity than that which now prevails. The fierce pogroms in Russia in the early 80's had raged like a hurricane in that benighted and cruel land. The waves of terror, lashed by

the tornado of fear and hate which followed upon the assassination of Alexander II, beat upon Israel long after the original impact of the storm had passed, and extended the area of disturbance to countries far removed from the territory of the Tsar. The occasion was a revival of anti-Semitism as fierce as anything our western world has known until our own distracted age. Long since the Jews had begun their pilgrimage anew upon "the eternal road." The flood of exile, which had burst out of Russia like water over a broken dam in the first years of persecution, had never ceased. Crowds of homeless and wandering people continued to flow not only from Russia, but also from Poland, Rumania, Hungary. Much of this tide moved into Germany, and more into America; and trickling streams found their way into Palestine, and there fertilized the barren soil of the ancient and lost homeland with the founding of the first *halutzim*. It was a desperate time, as this, our time, is similarly desperate. It thus seems appallingly familiar—and yet on closer examination is so different!

In his biography of Theodor Herzl, Jacob de Haas remarks upon the amazing fact that the great Jewish migrations of the late years of the nineteenth century, under the lash and sword of persecution, made little impression upon the consciousness of Jews in America. The reaction of the Jewish press in this country, he says, was slight. American Israel, of course, was stirred but after a fashion more or less stereotyped by the unbroken ex-

perience of generations. The Jews already planted in this free land gave succor to their stricken brethren as they poured through the immigration stations into the slums of our eastern seaports but held the new arrivals more or less at arms length. The Russian and Polish Jews were not popular with, nor was their plight sensed by, the Spanish, Portuguese and German Jews in America to whom terror was no longer a real experience. Above all, the synagogues in this republic saw no solution to the endless problem of misery, no answer to the eternal challenge of persecution. It was a burden to be borne—and at last, God grant, to be escaped in the free democracies of the western world. This was the attitude forty years ago of American Jews, and I imagine also of English, French, and German Jews, many of whom were far advanced in a process of separation from the ancient heritage of Israel. These Jews had found security—or *thought* they had!—and were willing to buy and hold it at the price of the disintegration of the noblest spiritual tradition in history.

And now all this is changed! In the present revival of anti-Semitism, this overwhelming storm of persecution which is sweeping Israel in fiercer fury than any storm that has been known since the Dark Ages, there is no lack of response from western Jewry. No one could say today, for example, that the sufferings of German and Polish and Rumanian Jews are making no particular impress upon the mind of Israel in America. The Jews

in this country did not have to wait for the tragic drama of Hitler to arouse them. They were already moved with compassion and outrage when the first anti-Semitic outbreaks followed upon the close of the World War. To-day, after four years of the Nazi horror, these American Jews are enduring an inward agony comparable point by point to the outward agony of those in Europe who have perished or are perishing. Involved in this reaction, of course, is the frightful discovery that the security which so many Jews thought they had found for themselves and their children was a mere phantasm of the imagination. If German Jews, more thoroughly assimilated than any other members of the tribe, could suffer such calamity, what Jews anywhere were safe? A sudden sense of racial identity, so long dormant in many places, swept and is sweeping modern Israel like the tremor of an earthquake which threatens to swallow all.

But it is not merely fear which is at work here. It is a sense of unity which springs from a higher and nobler source. It is Zionism moving within the souls of the Jews. It is the spirit of Herzl standing triumphant by the hearthstone of the home and before the ark of the synagogue. More than either friend or enemy of the new Palestine understands, the Zionist adventure has seized upon and transformed their lives. What has been going on unconsciously for four decades in the minds of millions of Jews, in all parts of the world, now rises

above the threshold of consciousness, so to speak, and becomes suddenly a passion and an ideal. It is like a light kindled in the sunlight and revealed only when the darkness of night engulfs the world. Zionism, in spite of themselves, has remade the Jews. This movement is the rebirth of Israel. It needed only the return of persecution, outlawry and death, the old fate of the fathers once again, to reveal what Herzl and his cause have really done.

SPEAKING as a Gentile looking at my Jewish brethren here in our common country, I would say that we now see against the black background of European horror three things which Zionism has given to American Jewry:

First of all, it has given a *world consciousness*. Jews in this country are no longer separated from Jews in other countries in a selfish satisfaction with America as their own especial and favored destiny. In the quest of Zion they find themselves identified with Jews everywhere in working out a fulfillment of the Prophets' dream. In each annual Zionist congress there is a world congress in which American Jews meet with Jews from a dozen other countries in an interest and an endeavor which make them one. Thus is parochialism ended, and an Israel long scattered through the earth, like the severed limbs of Osiris, joined together again in the common organism of a common life. Zionism has given to the

Jews what the Jews have not had since the destruction of Jerusalem—a united front! And in this front American Jews hold their proud and happy place with English and French and German and Polish Jews—all now primarily *Jews* in the rebuilding of the old waste places of the homeland which is their own again.

Secondly, Zionism has given to American Jews, as to all Jews everywhere, a vision. If the Jewish mind had in the old days tended to become sterile, it was not only because this mind was cruelly cut off from the living thought of the world, but also because it was all too much absorbed in the mere meticulous preservation of the minutae of ancient law and ritual. If Jewish life through centuries of struggle for mere physical survival had tended to become materialistic, it was because it lacked a spiritual outlook to quicken the inner impulses of the soul. What Israel has tragically lacked all these years has been a future to match its past. Through sheer force of ghastly circumstance, the Jews have been bound back into the bondage of old days. To lay down their bones in the soil of Judaea was the one hope that burned in many a tortured heart. The dream of the Messiah, to be sure, had not died; but it endured as a light seen brightly in some ancient time and preserved now as a memory of wonder. All too well this Messianic hope matched the sterile Christian dogma of the second coming of the Lord! But now in Zionism came suddenly a future, a real future. The Jew was no longer a survivor

merely from yesterday but a pioneer also of tomorrow. He could live in terms not merely of the Law but also of the Prophets. The glorious past, so loyally preserved, could now be made to live again in a future no less glorious. Zionism was a vision which made life worth the living even amid humiliation, terror, and despair.

Lastly, Zionism has given to American Jews, as to all Jews, *a solution of their age-old problem*. What to do, save to flee one knows not whither—this has ever been the agony of Israel in Christendom! It is the one agony which could have made even more terrible the suffering of German Jews under the iron heel of Hitler. I had the thought, when I was in Germany in 1935, that had those unhappy Jews not been able to answer that fateful question—what to do?—the horror would have been beyond all bearing. But they had an answer to the question. The answer was—*Palestine!* They could send their children to that land of their fathers. They themselves, many of them, could go there and begin life anew. What was lost in the German fatherland could be found again in the Jewish homeland. So the German Jews had hope, as the Polish Jews have hope today, for “the eternal road” now leads somewhere. It was a goal which has not hitherto been seen, because it had not hitherto existed.

Not that all persecuted Jews can flee to Palestine! This is no more possible than that all persecuted Catholics can flee to Rome. But more Jews can find refuge

in the Holy Land than has yet been imagined. If the Palestine of David supported four millions of people in the ancient day, it can support as many and more today. There is no reason why Palestine should not eventually receive within her borders at least three million Jews, and this is more than five times the number of all the Jews living in Germany when Hitler came to power. The margin for Polish and Rumanian and Galician Jews is thus considerable. But why should all Jews, even in persecution, return or desire to return to Palestine? The wonder of Zion is that the physical refuge on the map is a spiritual refuge within the soul. The homeland means a new self-respect, a nobler personal dignity, a self-reliance and courage and faith, for all Jews wherever they may be. The days of fawning and cringing are over. The days of adjustment and assimilation, of "escape," are likewise over. Jews now stand upon their feet, and look again the whole world in the face. For their problem is answered, and their destiny therefore secure. Herzl was the new Moses who ended the long period of Israel's second slavery by leading Israel again into the Promised Land.

These days are dark days for us all. They are especially dark for Jews. An hour of more dreadful darkness for Jews may come with the report of the Royal Commission in London. But be not afraid! Zion shines as a light that cannot be extinguished, nor even greatly dimmed. These four decades, in other words, have not

been in vain. What has been done by heroic pioneers is done. It can be undone not by any enemies or hypocritical friends of the Jews anywhere, but only by Jews themselves if they lose heart. Let Israel be faithful, and the God of Israel will not fail. "Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? saith the Lord. Shall I cause to bring forth, and shut the womb? saith thy God. . . . As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you. And ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem."

The Nazi Threat To Freedom

IN BLOODSHED and suffering, the sheer agony of the flesh, the Bolshevik revolution was undoubtedly more terrible than the Nazi. But the former upheaval was never a repudiation of progress, nor an attack upon the mind and spirit of the race. Thus, there was no reversion in Russia. At their worst, the Soviets simply took over the traditional practices of the Tsars, and continued a repression to which the people had been inured for centuries. There was no loss of civil rights in Russia, for the reason that one cannot lose what one has never had. Liberty did not give way to tyranny, since there was no liberty. But in that area of human experience which is most important to the welfare and happiness of the great masses of mankind—namely, the economic—there has come during the last decade a liberation of the Russian people so pervasive and so potent as to constitute the one most stupendous act of emancipation that is known to history. One cannot hope to understand the work of the Bolsheviks unless one sees that the revolutionists took a vast welter of men and women, ignorant, superstitious, degraded, existing on the lowest levels of human subsistence, and are now raising them, step by painful step, toward the highest levels of comfort, culture, and enlightenment. The peasants, the workers, the intellectuals, the Jews, the nationals, ninety per cent of

the population of Russia, are now for the first time free. The people of this enormous land, untouched by the Renaissance and the Reformation which delivered the peoples of Western Europe from the bondage of the Dark Ages, have at last been quickened into life, and thus started upon the way to progress. Whatever the terror of the early years, there began in Russia, in 1917, a movement destined to achieve a larger and nobler liberty than man has yet known upon this earth.

But Hitler has gone backward. He is retracing the progress of a thousand years. He is destroying the liberty bought at a great price through ages of struggle for the light.

It is not difficult to describe what man has been doing, or trying to do, through all these centuries gone by. Popular treatises like H. G. Wells's "The Outline of History," and Hendrik Van Loon's "The Story of Mankind," have made familiar the trends of social evolution. We feel the impulse of the movement like the theme of a symphony, growing, expanding, caught in mad intricacies of discord, lost in chaotic cadences of sound, but always emerging and rising into the prophetic pæan of final and exultant triumph.

What man has been doing is to find himself, to discover and fulfill his essential being. He has been hunting out the inner qualities of his genius, and then expressing them in outward manifestations of thought and life. His-

tory is the record of the human struggle to give man a chance, each man to do his work, to speak his word, to exalt his soul, and therewith to prove his kinship with the divine. In the beginning, man was immersed in the mass. He was little better than one drop of water in the flood, one animal in the swarming herds of animals. His task was to discover his individuality, and to develop it for the enrichment of the race and the vindication of his own spirit.

Very early it was found possible for the few to establish conditions which would favor the satisfaction of their desires and the fulfillment of their powers. The strong, the aggressive, and at last the intellectual could gain ascendancy over their fellows, and subdue them to their purposes. In one short and glorious period in ancient Greece, a chosen class of aristocrats, supported by a slave population, demonstrated for all time the supreme capacity of the human mind. But opportunity enjoyed by the few has been inexorably demanded by the many. Steadily, through the ages, has spread the pressure of the masses for larger liberty. In periods of ignorance and superstition, under reigns of tyranny and oppression, man has been restless and resistless. Instinctively he has felt his powers and demanded freedom for their expression. Thus, at long intervals, he has broken out into rebellions and revolutions; and at great climactic moments of release, achieved liberations which have marked the milestones of his progress. This has been the

spirit of liberalism at work—the spirit which has ended slavery, destroyed kings, established democracy, public education and the popular franchise, emancipated women, sought international peace, and today, in vast experiments of collectivism, is laying deep and sure the foundations of that economic security which will at last give freedom to mankind.

It is from this point of view that the roots of our contemporary civilization, which have blossomed into this enlightened liberalism of our day, go far back into the past. It might be argued, in no wholly fantastic sense, that the prophets of Israel were liberals, also the seers of Greece and Rome, and the apostles of Christianity. The Middle Ages had their nascent theories of popular rights. The Renaissance was a flowering of the free mind, and the Reformation of the free soul. The Puritan revolution in England, for all its grim terror, had the liberal spirit in its heart; and the second revolution of 1688 was accompanied by what John Morley called “the reasoned vindication of liberal principles” in the writings of John Locke. It was this movement of democracy, accompanied by the influences of the French Illumination, which precipitated the American Revolution, and then widened, like a spreading flood, until it engulfed the western world. Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans remade their nations in the wake of Napoleon’s vast upheavals. A generation of reaction served only to bring the outbreak of 1848, and the far-flung liberation of the ’60’s and ’70’s, which

penetrated for a brief moment even the dark fastnesses of Russia. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, liberalism had achieved a civilization. It had consolidated its victories and was preparing a final triumph, when forces which it had itself released and not yet brought under control, produced the incredible catastrophe of the Great War and its aftermath.

If we ask what this liberalism was, and still is, we may find it set forth in Thomas Carlyle's famous proclamation of "faith in the imperishable dignity of man, and in the high vocation to which, through his earthly history, he has been appointed." This faith reveals itself in certain virtues — self-respect, self-reliance, tolerance, charity, justice, freedom, and brotherhood. It avoids certain vices—race prejudice, national pride, class consciousness, intolerance, tyranny, and violence. It seeks with single eye the establishment of such social conditions as shall most speedily and permanently liberate men for the full and free expression of their essential individuality. The great success of liberalism has been in the political field, where effective institutions have been established for the organization and proper functioning of the common life. The great failure of liberalism has been in the economic field, where autocracy has enslaved man to poverty, and therewith undermined and destroyed all other liberties. The tragedy of liberalism has been its collapse under the impact of the surviving barbarism of war. Yet there endures the dream of that ideal com-

monwealth where war shall be no more, and poverty done away, and man shall no longer "labor in vain, nor bring forth for calamity," but live and love in the free expression of his own native being.

It is this dream which Hitler would destroy, this progress of the ages which he would undo. If life is worth living for enlightened men today, it is because of these ineffably precious possessions which have come to us from the free spirits of the past. If history can justify itself, it must be through the achievements of that liberal tradition which has slowly but surely emancipated the race. If there is such a thing as progress, it is to be found in that steady movement toward social stability and economic security which combine to release men for the "filling of their day." But all this Hitler would deny. He would go not forward, but backward a full thousand years. He would abrogate all modern liberties, restore all ancient tyrannies, and therewith destroy, as though by one fell blast of doom, all that man has achieved since he emerged, with infinite pain and loss, from out the abyss of the Dark Ages. And as though by the will of ironic gods, this Nazi *Fuehrer* has been let loose to work his spell upon the most intelligent, enlightened, and highly cultured people of contemporary Europe!

What Hitler would do, and as a matter of fact is now doing, is to restore *the horde* of primitive and savage days. We speak of the Nazi movement as nationalistic

in character—a rebirth of an intense passion for the separate nation as over against the single body of humanity. But the nation is the product of a long process of evolution. It contains within itself a myriad differentiations of thought and life which are the sure evidence of progress. While not the end of the historical process, which must be the ultimate production of the world state, the nation represents a far stage of advancement in this process. But Hitler would undo the nation, as he would undo every other late achievement of man's day upon this earth. For what he is concerned with is not nationalism, but tribalism. He seeks to bring back upon the stage of history *the horde*, which swamps all individuality in the human mass which lives one uniform life of iron discipline and rigid custom, which yields obedience to one great chief or lord, which marches armed with lust and hate against the world, and which moves to destroy all evidences of beauty, enlightenment, and culture.

If Nazism be not *the horde* rampant and triumphant, how else may we explain the repudiation by the Nazi leaders of historic Christianity, pre-eminently in its spirit a religion of liberal idealism wherein man perhaps was first discovered in the full dignity of his essential divinity, and the revival by these same leaders of the pagan faith which possessed the ancient Germanic tribes when they roamed the trans-Rhenish and trans-Danubian forests, and later broke the frontiers to overwhelm the Empire? I find a supreme significance in this remark-

able recrudescence in the modern world of these primeval Nordic cults. Thus on July 30, 1933, for example, more than 100,000 Hitlerites, gathered in convention at Eisenach, declared their responsibility "for our Germanic origin before the divine reality," and sought the restoration of Odin, Baldur, Freia, and other Teutonic gods to the altars from which they had been hurled by Christendom. Such reversion to Wotan in place of God, and to Siegfried in place of Christ, is not nationalism at all. It is something far back of nationalism, back to the shadows of the dark days and savage peoples. It is tribalism alive in our world again—the return of a whole people to forms of primitive paganism from which we had fondly imagined that mankind had escaped forever.

Hitler, I repeat, is bringing back *the horde*, restoring the days and ways of barbarism. It is in this sense that his movement is so terrible a menace to liberalism, so ghastly an assault upon all the rich intellectual and spiritual treasures of our age, a frontal attack upon civilization itself. In Hitler and his storm troops we find the fulfillment of Lord Macauley's famous prophecy that, whereas the ancient civilizations were destroyed by barbarian hordes which overwhelmed them from without, our modern civilization may well be destroyed by barbarian hordes bred deep within the womb of our own life.

If Germany were alone in the hands of the Nazis, we would not be disturbed, though the Hitler horror would still remain one of the supreme catastrophes of modern

times, and Germany itself a tragedy as terrible as Troy. But Germany is not alone, and cannot be alone. For weal or woe, she is a part of a close-knit modern world in which "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." What is her present calamity, for example, but the harvest of the dragon's teeth sown in her soil by the pitiless victors of Versailles? And what may be her final disaster but a world disaster in which she drags down mankind in ruin with herself?

Since the Great War, Fascism has been darkening upon the West like a day of doom. Democracy has steadily retreated before the onswEEPing hosts of tyranny and terror. Nation after nation has been engulfed by this advancing flood of fierce fanaticism. In Germany the crowning culture of our age has succumbed; and from Germany now spreads a pestilence to infect the world. This is a fight against the modern Black Death. Liberalism, democracy, civilization hang helpless in the balance. Helpless unless, before it is too late, there rallies to the defense of humanity's dearest treasures the awakened conscience and courage of mankind! A war, not of the flesh but of the spirit, is now our lot—reason against barbarism, that mankind may at last survive the hour of its most dreadful trial.

The Jews of Germany Are Doomed

A VISIT to Nazi Germany inevitably modifies one's views. Sometimes for the better, as in the case of the problem of war and peace in Europe! After a month of careful observation and study in Germany, I am persuaded that the "next war" is not coming this year, nor next year, nor yet the year after. But one's views may be modified by a visit to Germany *for the worse!* The case of the Jews is here the perfect illustration. I thought before I went to Hitler's land that I knew the worst about the state of Israel in that country. But I did not! One cannot know the worst, nor even imagine it, until one has entered Jewish homes in Germany, and behind closed doors and curtained windows, talked with the people in these homes, and thus in a way touched their very lives. The disciple, Thomas, understood only when he had laid his hand on the bleeding wounds of Christ. So must those who would comprehend today the full measure of the tragedy of German Jews.

My thoughts are still confused, even as they are harrowed and tortured, by what I saw and heard in Germany this summer. If I can put these thoughts into any ordered form, sum them up in any intelligible way, it would be in the three following propositions, which I merely state

without reference to the abundant and indubitable evidence which may be cited in their support :

1. First, the plight of the Jews in Germany is today utterly miserable, and is destined to get steadily worse until the end in due course has come either in exile abroad or the most degraded ghetto existence at home. At the moment the situation may seem to be not so bad. There are no pogroms, and few open horrors. Many Jews, perhaps most, seem to be living normal lives. But what is happening is none the less terrible in the long run, for the German Jews, if not being tortured and slaughtered by wholesale, are instead being ground to pieces by a process of outlawry and repression infinitely less dramatic and exciting but in the end as surely fatal as the sword. When corn is cast into the mill, there are myriads of kernels which in the beginning remain untouched and thus apparently undamaged by the turning stones. One by one, however, these kernels are caught and crushed, and at last the shining particles have all of them been ground to dust. This is what is going on in Germany—quietly, undramatically, inconspicuously, but none the less surely. It is because the Jews, even those least injured today, see the inexorable end, that they are so inexpressibly sad.

Thus, there are Jews now living on pensions paid them by the government—but when they pass, these pensions will not go to other Jews. There are Jews still in the civil service of the Nazi government—but when they

retire or die, their positions will be filled by Gentiles. There are Jewish veterans of the Great War who are receiving privileges, even honors—but in another generation there will be no veterans, since Jews will not be taken into the new conscript army. There are Jewish merchants doing business—but they cannot advertise, are often boycotted, and cannot pass on their interests to their sons. There are Jewish teachers in the schools—but they are pariahs who endure ignominy and shame for the sake of a living, and they will have no successors. There are Jewish lawyers still practising in the courts—but only so long as there are Jewish clients able or willing to employ them. Forty per cent of the physicians practicing in Berlin are still Jews—“but we will see about that,” said an official of the Nazi government to me in a voice as assured and unconcerned as though he were talking about the removal of rubbish from the streets. The Jews, in other words, are allowed to live, but under conditions increasingly difficult without and intolerable within, and with the end of it all definitely in sight. The present generation is allowed to exist under certain specified conditions, just as a criminal condemned to execution is allowed to exist for weeks, months, perhaps years, in the death house. But there always is the day of doom, and it approaches.

It is this fact which makes the supreme tragedy of the German Jews today a tragedy of their children. “O, we can get along one way or other,” said a beautiful young

Jewish woman to me, referring to her father, her husband, and herself. "But it's my boys! We've got to get out for their sake." It was only a few moments before that she had shown me these boys as they went romping upstairs to bed—one a lad of twelve, dark, deep-eyed, handsome, brilliant in intellect and spirit, the other a youngster of four, with a great shock of curly blonde hair, and all bubbling with affection and profound emotional excitement. These boys had been born in a country which had repudiated them and closed every door against them. They had no country now, and, if they were to live at all, must wander abroad in search of some place which would receive them. This mother would bear no more children, and for these already born must abandon everything, and, like Hagar, wander away into the wilderness.

It is not until one understands the plight of the children that one really sees the doom of Israel in Germany. For these children there is no mercy. Schools are open to them still, but not now for long. The universities are closed to them, or else open on a quota basis which is equivalent to exclusion. Neither boys nor girls are allowed to learn trades, or prepare for the professions. Business may be open to them for a while, but only in the lower ranks, and in the end is destined to be denied. Social clubs, athletic and sport organizations, literary and cultural circles, are already forbidden them. The arts—music, sculpture, the opera, the drama—are theirs

no more. Worst of all are the humiliations, insults, discriminations and prejudices which create an atmosphere certain to develop in any sensitive child, or even adult, an inferiority complex destructive of every higher and nobler attribute of the soul. These children, when they come to manhood and womanhood may build their ghetto, or live among their fellows as helots, but otherwise they must disappear. What wonder that every self-respecting Jewish parent in Germany is struggling desperately to get away, that their children may not perish!

One may see the full horror of the situation in the simple but pregnant fact that the German Jews are no longer citizens of Germany. They have been wantonly robbed of their legal and social status in the state. They are aliens, "*auslanders*," in a country in which they have lived for a thousand years. Nay, they are worse than "*auslanders*," for the alien in any land carries the passport of his native country, and thus the protection of all the government and law of that country. But the German Jew is now literally "a man without a country." He has neither his own nor any other nation to guarantee his person and property, or to plead his case. The Jew in Germany may be, as he actually has been, the victim of any and all injustice. He may be abused, outraged, insulted, his person injured, his property expropriated, his women violated, his children handicapped—and he has no redress before the law. It is this which makes his position today so intolerable, and in the end so fatal. Daily

he lives in the expectation or fear that any right which he still enjoys, any privilege in which he is still indulged, may be snatched away from him without warning. He lives, in other words, on sufferance. Any sudden edict of any petty official anywhere may ruin him utterly. There hangs the Damoclean sword—and its fall is certain.

2. This brings me to my second proposition—that the plight of the German Jew is not only utterly miserable but absolutely permanent. There is no slightest chance of reprieve, relief, redemption. The Hitler policy is fixed, and will therefore no more change than the inexorable pattern of the stars. On this point I consulted all sorts and conditions of men—Nazis and anti-Nazis, government officials and private citizens, German ministers and American journalists, Jews and Gentiles, Christians and pagans—and there was no dissenting voice among them. All agreed that Hitler's policy toward the Jews was immutable, except as from time to time it might be made more rigorous and cruel. Only the fall of the Hitler government conceivably could bring a change, and that was as unlikely as the fall of Mussolini or Stalin.

The explanation, or rather proof, of this assertion is obvious. The attack on the Jews in Germany is no mere Ku Klux excursion of a gang of heedless hoodlums. It is not simply a tactical manouvre, or item of propaganda policy, in a campaign for the control and direction of a

mob mind. In essence it is the one concrete expression of a philosophy which lies at the very heart of whatever thought is contained within the Nazi movement. This movement is fundamentally the crystallization or organization of a racial dogma. There is a superior race to whom the earth properly belongs! This superior race is that of the Nordics—the Germanic tribes who grew in the forests of Germania in the ancient day and now have grown to occupy the whole range of central Europe from Scandinavia to the Ukraine! These tribes stand in danger of being crushed by enemies east (Slavs) and west (Latins), and of being corrupted and pursued by the bad blood of enemies within (Jews)! The fight for racial survival, for the fulfilment of divine destiny, must be joined on every front, but first of all at home! The Jew, therefore, must be destroyed, as the first condition of Nordic survival! The land, as a primary duty to its own true children, must be purged of its pollution!

This is the philosophy of Nazism—if it may be called a philosophy! If the Jew were to be spared, the whole structure of National Socialism would crumble. The very soul of the cause would die. So there may be changes of policy elsewhere, but not here. Steadily the grinding will go on. Inexorably, year after year, the wheels will turn. At first the mad fanaticism of a party, this hatred of the Jew has now become the program of a government and, worst of all, the passion of a people. The mind and will

of Germany, on this one point at least, is fixed—and the Jew is doomed.

3. I have just spoken of hostility to the Jew in Germany as “the passion of a people.” This brings me to my third point—namely, the anti-Semitism now ripe within the Reich. What has been done to the Jews may have been done by the Nazis, but this has now been accepted and will in the future be done by the people as a whole. The Germans, in other words, whether Nazis or not, are anti-Semites. The virus has worked.

How much anti-Semitism there was in the old Germany I do not know. I have reason to believe that there was considerable, but certainly it was not important as a matter of public thought and policy. The Kaiser had no anti-Semitic feelings; on the contrary, he numbered among his friends and counsellors distinguished Jews, of whom Albert Ballin, perhaps, was the most famous. Jews occupied trusted positions in the world of business and politics in Wilhelm’s empire, and easily lead the thought of the country. Walter Rathenau is a noble example of this fact. But now the people have turned, and laid Israel beneath the lash of prejudice and hate. It was horrifying to me to discover how universal had become the infection of anti-Semitism in Germany, and how deeply it had penetrated the soul of the nation. Persons who themselves least suspected it, and who would have hotly disavowed it, revealed their anti-Semitic senti-

ments in a hundred unconscious and yet convincing ways. Not only were men and women long trained in liberal culture and enlightenment accepting the Hitler campaign against the Jew as an instrument of national policy, but they were justifying it by arguments which represented a conversion of mind which had now become a conviction. Worst of all is the rearing of a whole generation of youth in deliberate fear and detestation of the Jew. To see a group of guileless boys and girls reading Streicher's filthy anti-Semitic sheet "*Der Stuermer*," as posted up on walls or behind shop windows on the public street, or to watch these young people wildly demonstrating against a movie theatre showing a Russian picture containing a Jewish actor in the cast, is to look upon the ghastly spectacle of a foul growth within the human soul, destined in due course, like poisonous weeds, to choke and destroy all things of beauty in the heart of man.

Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany is a political policy, but it is also a popular mania. Like any frenzy, it is ferocious and fattens upon what it feeds. When Hitler inaugurated his campaign against the Jews, he released a gas attack which has poisoned and therewith corrupted an entire nation. As the lung tissues disintegrate under the gaseous fumes of bombs and hand-grenades at the battlefield, so the soul tissues of the German people have disintegrated under the propaganda influences of speeches, books, pictures, lies in every form innumerable.

With no masks of any kind, intellectual or otherwise, to protect them, the people have succumbed. In the anti-Semitism of modern Germany, in other words, Hitler has already won his fight against his hated enemy! Though he and his government were to fall tomorrow, the Jew could gain but little, for the infection would remain, and the work of death go on.

There is only one thing that can be done about the Jews in Germany, and that is to *get them out*. They must be rescued, as the residents of a burning house, trapped by devouring flames, are rescued by firemen. The Jews cannot get out themselves, just as the householder, in anguish and terror on the upper stories of his home, cannot escape by his own efforts. With devilish ingenuity, the Hitlerites have decreed that money cannot be taken out of Germany beyond a nominal limit of ten marks, nor property liquidated and transferred. The new exodus of an entire people must be undertaken by their fellow-tribemen without, and by Gentiles who understand and pity and would help. This task I believe to be as imperative as the feeding of famine sufferers in China, or the relief of earthquake victims in Japan or India. Millions should be raised for the job, and an organization comparable to the Red Cross placed in charge. Boycotts are important, but none the less insignificant as compared with this immediate and wholesale work of rescue.

The Crucifixion: History or Theology?

SOME time ago I wrote an article on the effect of early childhood influence on inner states of mind. I referred specifically to prejudices, and used my own early experience with Jews and Catholics as an illustration of my thesis. I pointed out that, as a child, I was reared in eastern Massachusetts in a family saturated with abolition sentiment, was taught that the anti-slavery fight constituted the heroic period of American history, and through all my early years saw Negro men and women received in sympathy and honor into the family household. I simply never encountered any distinction between blacks and whites, and therefore to this day have an attitude of friendship toward the Negroes which is as natural as breathing. On the other hand, my childhood in eastern Massachusetts plunged me into the fierce atmosphere of the famous A.P.A. controversy of forty-odd years ago. Catholics in my early days were regarded as foul conspirators against our American democracy. The neighborhood in which I flourished as a boy was all aflame with the idea that Catholic servant girls were poisoning food and that Catholic churches planted a musket in the cellar for every man-child born into the parish. These early extravagances and fanaticisms made

an indelible impression upon my mind. If I am today as just to Catholics as to other men, it is because of convictions of the reason and efforts of the will and not because of congenitally automatic reactions.

Referring to this article, a friend recently questioned me about my early experience with Jews. "In the case of the Negroes and the Catholics," said he, "the genetics of prejudice and non-prejudice are absolutely convincing; but I am puzzled in applying your finding to the Jewish situation. What effect did the inculcation of the crucifixion story have upon your emotions toward Jews? If this gave you an anti-Jewish basis, how did you rid yourself of it? If the crucifixion story did not produce a negative reflex, how would you account for its failure to do so?" This is an interesting inquiry, which may well be given answer in this place. What is the story of my experience in this regard?

As I try to carry my mind back into my early years, I find no memory at all of any conscious reaction upon the story of Jesus' crucifixion. I cannot see it in my recollection as in any way isolated from other more or less commonplace impressions. It was simply a piece of historical information which came to me naturally in the course of my acquisition of knowledge, and made no especial imprint upon my mind. Certainly my acquaintanceship with the story created no unfavorable reaction of any sort. I cannot seem to discover that it has ever had any place, either one way or another, in my attitude

toward Jews. If it had had any such place, the consequences would certainly have been favorable, for I learned early that Jesus, a Jew, was one of those sublimely heroic men who was not afraid to die a terrible death for his faith. But all this, as I examine my memory, is a blank. What is the explanation?

There is, or at least may be, a two-fold explanation. In the first place, on the negative side, the crucifixion story never came to me with any of the theological entanglements which are involved in the traditional content of Christian doctrine. I never was taught that Jesus was God, or the son of God, or in any way a deity. I never believed that the Nazarene was the central figure of a cosmic drama, the outcome of which had a consequence for eternal good or ill to all mankind. There was never imposed upon me, in other words, any undue emphasis upon the significance of what happened upon Calvary. Certainly I never gathered any intimation that the Jews, or the Romans, or anybody else, were "God-killers." It is possible for me to imagine that, if I accepted the creeds of Christendom, the death of Jesus on the cross would hold a place of central significance in my mind, and that the exact circumstances of his execution might therefore be so important to me as to stir enormous emotions of prejudice against those responsible for the Savior's suffering and dissolution. But all this is matter outside my own experience, which came to me very late as pure speculation when as a student I be-

gan to study the trivial and not infrequently absurd ramifications of Christian theology. Born and brought up in the Unitarian church, and in a radical wing of that church, I was happily kept immune from all the consequences, anti-Semitism among the rest, which have followed in the wake of Christian dogmatism and bigotry.

This is the negative side of my experience. There is also the positive side. The crucifixion of Jesus has always appeared to me, so far as I can recollect, as a perfectly natural human event, easily understandable as the result of psychological, political, and social forces characteristic of all peoples in all ages. I never looked upon the final tragedy of the drama of Jesus' life, in other words, as anything unique. So far as I can recall, my mind classified it from the beginning with that long series of terrible events which constitutes that dark yet heroic story of martyrdom. Jesus died as Socrates died, as Joan of Arc died, as Savonarola died, as Giordano Bruno died, as Lattimer and Ridley died, as John Brown died. If certain individual Jews and Romans had a hand in the killing of Jesus, it was only as certain individual Athenians had a hand in the killing of Socrates, certain Frenchmen and Englishmen in the killing of the Maid of Orleans, certain Americans in the killing of John Brown.

To hold any grudge, or to cherish any prejudice and hate, against Jews as a group, because Jesus was slain in Jerusalem would be as foolish, as incredible, as to despise and persecute Greeks today because Socrates

was made to drink the hemlock in Athens, or modern Englishmen and Frenchmen because Joan was burned at Rouen, or to assail my own countrymen because the fathers of men now living hanged John Brown at Charlestown. Put the worst possible construction upon the connection of Jews with Jesus' death! Hold them to be exclusively and cruelly responsible for this monstrous crime! They would still be guilty of nothing more or worse than other men have been guilty of under the same circumstances against their own greatest prophets and heroes. Once get the historical point of view upon Jesus' death, in other words, and we discover that the same forces were at work on Calvary's hill as on all the gibbets and pyres of the world.

It is because the crucifixion has never been regarded in this way by the great masses of Christians, but on the contrary has been lifted up, as Jesus was lifted up on the cross, above and therefore out of the universal currents of human passion, that Jews, incidentally in plain violation of the exact historic facts involved, have been held as murderers whose guilt, transmitted to all future generations, could never be forgotten or forgiven. There are few superstitions in history more monstrous than this, and none which has produced a more ghastly harvest of agony and blood. Its cure, or prevention, as in my own experience, is simply right knowledge. I am not different from other men. If I was saved from the anti-Semitic

poison of the crucifixion tale, it is only because I was taught history and not mythology or theology.

This statement opens up the larger question as to whether Christianity, or any other so-called inspired religion, is willing to have its followers taught real as contrasted with fake history. To what extent is traditional religion consistent with any right reading of man's experience upon this earth? I have long contended that knowledge, carried through relentlessly to its ultimate conclusions, must involve the dissolution and destruction of all orthodox religious faith. Here is one specific illustration of my thesis! Incidentally, why should we fear the passing of orthodoxy when it means the coming of truth, which in its heart contains the seed of that nobler religion of the universal spirit which must some day unite all men in the blessed bonds of brotherhood.

One Common Path to God

IT SEEMS curious, after all these centuries of alienation and isolation, of persecution on the one side and suffering on the other, that Jews and Christians should be growing together into an identity of interest. Yet such seems to be the case in the ironic as well as terrific developments of this chaotic modern world. Jews and Christians, who have for generations been poles apart, are now being drawn into a common experience as they are challenged to endure woes and injustices together.

Conspicuous at this moment is the proposed partition of Palestine. The Jews, with their previous Zionist cause at stake, have been quick to resent and denounce this monstrous program for the division of Palestine, like Caesar's Gaul, into three parts. The Christians, with no such immediate interest in the Holy Land, have been slow to recognize what is involved in this new policy of British imperialism, but little by little they are beginning to wake up to the fact that the sacred soil of their spiritual homeland is to be butchered to make a British holiday. For Palestine belongs to Christians as well as Jews. Its villages and cities are associated with Jesus as well as David, and its highways marked with the feet of the disciples and the apostles as well as of the prophets and the kings.

I remember, when I visited Palestine in 1929, how I was impressed by this dual interest. The land was obviously, in its deepest historical significance, the land of Israel. Upon the map were stamped indelibly the ancient Jewish names. But out of this land had emerged Christianity, which had taken over for its own, so to speak, certain spots which were forever Christ's. If Hebron and Jericho and Tekoah and Safed and Carmel and Meggido and the well of Gideon and Mt. Hermon—to say nothing for the moment of the areas reclaimed by the pioneers of Zion—belonged to the Jews, so Nazareth and Bethlehem and Capernaum and Bethel and the Sea of Galilee and the wilderness of Jordan belonged to the Christians. And in Jerusalem there seemed to be a shrine shared, with whatever contention, by the two religions—on the one hand, for example, the Wailing Wall, and on the other hand, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Here is a common heritage with the fate of which Jews and Christians should be equally concerned.

And now comes Britain, and proposes to carve up the land! What have the Christians to say to this idea? One would think that they would cry out in even more clamorous alarm and anger than the Jews themselves, for the latter do, after all, get a portion of Palestine for their own, to deal with as they will. It is true that they lose Jerusalem—a fact which one would think would make their right hands forget their cunning, and their tongues cleave to the roof of their mouths! But the bribe of in-

dependent nationality is tempting, and there are those in Israel who are ready to take it. At the same time has the Empire shrewdly schemed for Christian support by including the church's holy sites in the portion of Palestine reserved for British rule? But is it only a spot here and a spot there that Christians reverence in Palestine? Is it not the whole land itself which is the altar of their faith? And can they view with equanimity a partition of this land only less abominable than the iniquitous partition of Poland in the eighteenth century? This Palestinian partition can no more endure than the Polish partition. As Poles could not rest until their fatherland had been reunited, so Jews and Christians also will not rest until their homeland has likewise been reunited. Slowly but surely Jews and Christians will find a common cause in the plight of Palestine, and together labor and pray until the Holy Land is rescued today from Britain as yesterday from the Turk.

In Germany the Jews are undergoing an experience which may in the end, if the Nazi regime endures that long, culminate in their extinction as a people. Anti-Semitic outrages began almost immediately after Hitler had accomplished the liquidation of his political opponents, and thus had placed himself securely in the seat of power. To their shame, be it said, the Christians supported the state, or at least did not oppose it, in those early days, and chose to ignore or remain indifferent to

the program directed against their Jewish brethren. It was not long, however, before these Christians found themselves in difficulties. Now, after nearly five years of Hitler's rule, they are in straits so desperate that only the sufferings of Israel can be compared with them.

There are two reasons why the German churches, both Catholic and Protestant, have fallen afoul of the new regime. In the first place, the Hitlerites have established a totalitarian state, which brooks independence as little as opposition. Not only political parties and trade unions and universities and social and athletic clubs must be subdued to this type of state, but also churches! Not the bishops, either Lutheran or Roman Catholic, but the officers of government shall determine ecclesiastical policies and define articles of belief! Even the training of the young shall be taken out of the hands of pastors and priests, and placed in the hands of politicians! Against such absorption into the alien world of temporal affairs the churches have rebelled, and to this day have conducted a campaign which represents the sole opposition which Hitler has encountered since he came to power.

The second reason for the trouble between the state and church, between the Nazis on the one hand and the Christians on the other, lies in the nature of Christianity itself. This religion, it is pointed out by the Nazis, is alien to the genius of the German people. It is not a native growth from out of the heart of German life, but

an importation from the cults and races of the ancient Orient. It does not "belong" to this people now suddenly aroused to a living consciousness of their own distinctive attributes and needs. But this is not the worst—for Christianity is not only foreign but Jewish! Its scriptures were written by Jews; its early apostles were Jews; its ethics spring from the moral code of Israel; its Lord and Master, despite every effort to prove him an Aryan, was in training at least, if not in actual racial origin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews. So upon the Christian faith there rests the final reproach of Semitism! And in revolt among the Nazis have appeared the German Christian movement, which would substitute German for Jewish elements in the traditional gospel, and the much more radical neo-paganist movement, which would altogether purge the Reich of the contamination of this Hebrew religion masquerading in the livery of Christendom.

Thus Christians share with Jews the horrors of Nazi persecution. In the case of the Jews, the persecution is now characterized by little violence and few immediate outrages. It takes the form of slow and unremitting pressure calculated, like the grinding of a machine, to crush the life out of Israel. In the case of the Christians, the persecution is sharp and cruel, with dramatic scenes and numerous personal encounters. Pastors are snatched from their pulpits, and hidden away in concentration camps; churches are closed and barred in the face of worshippers; theological schools are raided, and church

conferences broken up. But methods of persecution are insignificant as compared with ends, which in the case of Jews and of Christians today in Germany are to all intents and purposes the same. Hitler proposes to extinguish the Jews, and to subdue and absorb the Christians. Which means that both Jews and Christians now have a common stake in the liberation of the Reich from the grossest tyranny of modern times!

Other countries in this unhappy age reveal similar phenomena. Russia, for example! It is wrong to say that there has been religious persecution as such in the Soviet Republic. Churches and synagogues have always been open, and their worship available to the people. Priests and rabbis, disfranchised and denied citizenship,* have still been permitted to practice their sacred rites and serve the spiritual interests of their people. But it is true, none the less, that a frankly atheistical government has done everything it could to discourage religion, and in its teaching of the young has done its utmost to make the faith alike of Israel and Christianity ridiculous. It has even fostered organized campaigns of atheism, very similar in character to our evangelical revivals, which have had great influence upon the popular mind. Religion has not been interfered with in Russia; there has been no direct religious persecution. Yet has there been created an environment so unfavorable as to doom religion to ultimate extinction.

*Restored under the new constitution. J.H.H.

In addition, there has been immediate trouble shared alike by Jews and Gentiles! Thus, when I was in Russia, in 1931, I met three pitiful Tolstoians who had come to Moscow from the arctic wilds of Siberia to plead the cause of their exiled brethren. This little group of what might be called primitive Christians had stirred the wrath of the Kremlin not because they were Christians but because they were non-resistants. They were unwilling to sanction war, would not accept military training, and therefore were condemned as counter-revolutionaries. So they had been "liquidated" by being taken from their farms, and banished with their families, empty-handed, to the farthest wastes of the bitter north. These men I met had trekked to Moscow not to complain, but to beg from the government the tools and seed and livestock without which they could not live.

Comparable to these Tolstoians in every respect are the Zionists of Soviet Russia who likewise feel the heavy hand of government. These Jews are not persecuted because they are Jews. There is not a vestige of such feeling in Russia as there is in Germany. On the contrary, the Soviets are the only nation in the world in which anti-Semitism is named as a crime punishable under the laws of the state. But Zionist Jews, because of their devotion to the great cause of the New Palestine, are charged with the crime of having an interest and an allegiance outside of Russia itself. Their first loyalty is not to the Kremlin but to Mt. Zion, and hence are they citizens

brought at once under the suspicion of treason, or counter-revolution. The lot of Zionists in Russia is miserable, for the same reason and in the same way that the lot of Christian non-resistants is similarly miserable.

And now within recent weeks have come the reports that the Stalin "purge" has reached Biro-Bidjan, and seized certain of the Jewish leaders of this colony for arrest and trial. What does this mean? I do not know! But it would seem to indicate that Jews are so truly a part of the new society of Russia that they must now suffer *pari-passu* with their Gentile contemporaries, Communists as well as Christians.

As though to match the tragic stories out of Russia comes within a few weeks a story of "anti-Semitism," as the newspaper despatch describes it, in Mexico. Protests are being heard against "another wave of Jewish immigration." A Congressman charges that many Jews are in the country illegally. The press notes that a national meeting of 40,000 small merchants has been called to "eliminate the disloyal competition of certain elements"—as always, Jews! While the government is understood not to favor this anti-Semitic agitation, it is none the less pointed out that feeling against Jews is rapidly increasing in Mexico, and "there has never been so widespread a campaign of this kind before." Meanwhile, three Jews have recently been expelled as "undesirables." All of which follows hard upon the bitter persecutions of

Protestants and Catholics! The Jews in Mexico seem now fated to share the miseries of Christians.

What these facts would seem to indicate is a changing relationship between Jews and Christians in this fateful modern age. Hitherto, in the sixteen hundred odd years since the triumph of the Cross in the Rome of Constantine, the Christians have dominated our western world as the majority group of a society in which have appeared various minority groups—among others, the Jews. Quite in accordance with the spirit of the medieval and early modern times, these minority groups have had to endure the overlordship and frequently the outright persecution of the majority group. Among the sufferers have been Christians themselves—the heretics who have been unable to conform to the orthodoxy of Rome. But first among them were always the Jews, who were regarded as heretics from the hour they refused to accept Jesus as the Christ of God. It was little comfort to the Jews, in their incredible tortures, to recall that they were enduring pangs no more terrible than those visited upon devout followers of the Nazarene who chanced to practice a gospel not recognized by the powers-that-be. But history must record that, in essence, it was the same extraordinary phenomenon of a majority group persecuting those who would not or could not conform.

Now, in our chaotic day, has come a change in this whole situation. Suddenly, without warning, Christians

of impeccably orthodox respectability have become minority groups in a new society which they do not recognize. In Germany both Lutherans and Catholics, in Russia and apparently in Mexico all Christians of every type, in Palestine the churches subservient to the Empire, are now cast down from the seat of majority control, and find themselves, as in the Rome before Constantine, striving to live under the alien rule of Nazis, Bolsheviks, imperialists, who know not Christ. For the first time in all these centuries since their ascendancy in the western world, these Christians are learning what it is to be outlaws, heretics, enemies, who must meet persecution as did their apostolic forbears, and struggle under such persecution to survive. The Christians, in other words, are again on the defensive. They are become minorities—exactly like the Jews who, through all these same centuries, have eaten the bread and drunk the waters of affliction as administered by these same Christians. Which means that Jews and Christians, in the whirligig of time, have become one! Whether they will or no, they together endure humiliation and outrage at the hands of those who rule them as alien minorities in a society which has in many places moved as definitely out of the Christian civilization as this Christian civilization in the fourth century moved out of the Roman before it.

It is this experience, bitterly ironical on both sides, which must now teach Jews and Christians that they

have a common stake in a future into which they hope to survive, and that they must therefore live a common life in a present in which they are doomed to suffer. Such hope for the future and such suffering in the present, the same for one as for the other, should unite them in one body of expectation and affiliation. For how can there be alienation any longer between groups alike reduced to a degradation of misery in which both must enjoy a mutual sympathy if they are to live at all? Must there not, for very truth's sake, be common cause between these groups as against a new barbarism of ignorance, superstition and violence which threaten to engulf the world's most precious heritage of spirituality? Between two such minorities, despised and rejected of the ruling powers of the world, prejudice must perish and suspicions die. Ghettoes must merge into catacombs, and catacombs into ghettoes, as the hunted and hated seek a refuge where together they may keep alive in darkness the flickering light of faith. And as Christians and Jews thus suffer the same fate, and watch and wait for the same release, will they not in the end discover their essential spiritual identity? Perhaps the Nazis are right ✓ in this one thing at least—that true Christianity is in essence Judaism, and that prophets and apostles have walked one common path to God? 1

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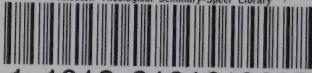
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